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851 596 not also bring a wife into the group, the bride continues to work very hard carrying water, and gathering firewood for the family. But she will now receive, necessarily, more assistance from the other women in the family and often the demands of her child for the breast, as well as the other attentions it requires, will take priority over all other considerations.

At this time the husband's behaviour towards his wife undergoes fundamental changes. He now begins to talk with her more freely before other members of the family. She is not any longer merely the conjugal partner with whom he has sexual relations, which even in marriage possess a suspect if not exactly shameful quality. She is now the mother of his child; and in this role, especially if her infant is a son, the husband openly recognizes his wife without the ambivalence which previously attached to their relationship. For the child represents his own social individuation; it stresses his separation even from his siblings with whom his common interests have previously been almost undifferentiated. As a father he must now assert himself in the world, and even within his own extended family, if he is to carry out adequately his parental obligations.

[601] After the birth of the first child the bride does not usually continue to address her husband's brothers and sisters as respectively, ἀφέντη, 'master', and κυρά, 'mistress'; instead she [551] uses their christian names. And if, by this time, a younger brother of her husband has been married, the family no longer address her as νύφη, 'bride', but use the name of her husband with the suffix '-ina' added; thus Pericles, Periclina. With these changes it is openly recognized that a new elementary family group has emerged; and they reflect, too, the growing equality in the relationships of the wife with the members of her husband's family of origin who are of her own generation. It is [606] also significant that no member of the extended family, except the parents-in-law, any longer orders her about in peremptory fashion in the presence of her husband, let alone attempts to scold or discipline her.

Parallel to the diminished control of the family over the bride, is the tacit understanding that the husband/father of the new elementary family is no longer able to fulfil critical obligations of his roles as son and brother in his family of origin; specifically, he is not expected to risk his life in any form of

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he loses strength. Since courage and physical strength are particularly the qualities that men require in order to defend the reputation of their families, it becomes clear why, for the Sarakatsani, the honour of the family is literally the honour of its blood.

The solidarity of the family group restricts the expression of purely individual feelings, opinions, and personality. This is reflected in the way that individual members are normally described by reference to the father, who until the marriage of his eldest son holds the chief authority. After her marriage a woman is never again addressed by her baptismal name except when she visits the home of her birth. She takes instead the christian name of her husband to which the suffix '-ina' is added; for instance, Periclina (see p. 70, above). In this way there is expressed not only the severance of a woman from her family of origin and her subordination to the authority of her husband, but also the absolute quality of their union. Similarly children of both sexes are known by their own christian name followed by the name of their father in the genitive case, for instance 'John the son of George'. In the eyes of its own members and the outside world, the family is a unity.

Whether we regard Sarakatsan marriage as a solemn contract between two opposed groups, or as a religious sacrament establishing the union of a youth with a maiden, it is certainly a transaction which transcends individual interests and desires. Just as the partners must be spotless (nobility in the boy, virginity in the girl), if the relationships which result from their union are to approach and participate in the qualities and nature of the divine model, so it is clear that either divorce or illegitimacy is incompatible with these values. To be born and to grow up in a complete and legitimate family is a minimal requirement for the honourable establishment of children.

In fact, divorce is permitted in Greece by the Orthodox Church on a number of grounds including adultery. Among the Sarakatsani I discovered only two instances of divorce; but in neither case had the marriage been consummated. In one instance, the father of the bridegroom advised his son not to have intercourse with the bride because she was coughing and expectorating blood. The Sarakatsani are apprehensive of tuberculosis, and after eight days during which the girl's

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851 796 608 sacrament of Holy Chrism follows at once. In this rite the child is anointed with chrism, a consecrated unguent of many ingredients, on the forehead, eyes, nostrils, lips, ears, breast, hands, and feet; each time the priest says, 'The seal of the Gift of the Holy Spirit. Amen.' During the service the godfather holds the child.

851 553 608 At the beginning of the service the priest asks the godfather the name of the child. Although a father may give some hint of his preference, it is recognized that it is the absolute prerogative of the godfather to name the child. Generally, he follows tradition by naming the child after one of its grandparents or perhaps after the saint on whose day the Baptism occurs. As soon as the name is known small children rush from the church to the home of the parents to give the news and to be rewarded [551] with small coins or sugared sweets. In the child's home there is always some anxiety until this information is received, for a person's first name is in some peculiar way an important aspect of his individual personality; and it links him, also, to a particular saint to whom he will turn for protection.

851 608 At the end of the service those who have attended return with the godfather to the child's home where they offer their wishes for long life and prosperity. The godfather hands back the child to the mother and tells her, 'I return the child to you in this life; but I shall ask it back from you in the next. Protect it well from fire, water, and all evil.'

431 608 585 There are certain exchanges of gifts between spiritual kinsmen. The wedding sponsor makes a not inconsiderable outlay at a wedding. He must give the bride a dress, and a gift of money when he takes his leave at the end of the celebrations; he must provide the wedding crowns, the candles, and sugared almonds, as well as his share of bread, meat, and wine; he must tip the band generously when the bride, the bridegroom, and his close relatives are leading the dance; and he is responsible for the offering to the priest. The sum of these expenses is unlikely to be less than ten pounds. In return the bride gives the sponsor the choicest blanket from her dowry. Later, as the godfather, he is expected to give his godchild a complete set of clothing, a gift which is generally offered when the child is one or two years old. It must be reciprocated by the child's family at the next Easter with the gift of a lamb with fleece dyed red, a round of

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In the local gathering of families which share the pastures of the same summer village the hierarchy of prestige is based upon a fairly precise knowledge of the genealogy, wealth, moral character, and conduct of each family; but, in the wider ordering of social reputations in the total community, elements of prejudice and speculation play a greater part.

In either case, there is more general agreement about the ordering of families at the two extremes, which define the hierarchy, than in its middle reaches. A number of families with the surname of Tsoumanis by their wealth and descent from a few dominating personalities of the past three generations are generally recognized to be the leading families of the community; these are the families of 'first lineage'. And certain of the families who bear such names as Tangas, Myriounis, and Ferendinos might be associated with them. On the other hand, families with the names of Sultanos or Pistiolis are assigned by general opinion to the lowest grade of social reputation; for them, indeed, social prestige does not properly exist. For the most part these families are economically poor and their genealogies lack any mark of distinction.

The positions at either end of the hierachy are not only more clearly defined, they also possess a fixity that is absent elsewhere. A family with the surname Pistiolis possesses large flocks yet it remains a family of the 'lowest lineage'. Its daughters are virtuous but their hands have not yet been sought in marriage even by men of indifferent social standing. However closely such families may live in the spirit of the community's values others do not give them the just recognition of their merits, so that certain of their number lose heart and are no longer concerned to act honourably; for in their case virtue is not its own reward. And the evidence of this reaction supports the original evaluation of the community.

If it is scarcely possible for such a family to gain prestige, it is at least difficult for the leading families of the community to lose theirs. There are few instances where a member of a family of the highest lineage has failed in a 'question of honour'. If a man is naturally timid he finds it all the more difficult to resist the immense moral pressure of family and community to act as he is expected to act. At the same time membership of a leading family in itself protects the individual from gratuitous slights. It is true that if a family of wealth and high lineage

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always known in the neighbourhood when a family has had guests (μουσαφίρηδες); their quality, relationship, and the possible reasons for their visit are debated in detail by the other families. Comment is often caustic, but the very interest which is aroused is a recognition of the importance of the event. If a family of numbers and wealth entertains a patron from the town, this is a triumph which it enjoys to the full. Meat is killed and wine is bought. Largesse is demanded of the family which entertains many guests. And in some mysterious way neighbouring families discover the measure of generosity, or meanness, which a host has shown to his visitors; and criticism, encouraged by envy, will not spare him. In hospitality (φιλοξενία), a virtue in which the Sarakatsani believe they are naturally pre-eminent, there is always a strong element of competition.

(c) LINEAGE[1]

Νταμάρι, lineage, refers to the quality of the kindred relationships which a man inherits from both his father and mother; and the importance of this for prestige has already been discussed in chapter three. If he possesses the surname of one of the leading families, or is directly descended, preferably in the male line, from a famous tselingas of the last century, this also is a significant element in a man's reputation. It might appear to indicate that for the highest and the lowest families, at least, reputation of lineage is patrilineally inherited. There is, indeed, a bias in favour of relationships traced through the father (particularly agnatic relationships) in the evaluation of νταμάρι in all families, and this is certainly accentuated at either extreme of the hierarchy of prestige, where certain family names are associated with the idea of high or low reputation, but the inheritance of νταμάρι remains fundamentally bilateral. In general, as we shall see in a discussion of marriage, men are careful to marry their sons or daughters into families of equal reputation. Where a member of a leading family takes a bride of markedly lower lineage, the community withdraws from the new family the recognition of the prestige associated with the husband's surname by the simple procedure of refusing to call

[1] Lineage, here, does not, of course, refer to a unilineal descent group but to the quality of pedigree through all lines of descent.

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him by this name, and substituting some nickname, or patronymic.

But the prestige of lineage depends itself on the attributes of wealth and numbers which have already been examined. It does not help a poor man to claim that his great-grandfather was a famous tselingas with two thousand sheep. It is true that a father, or grandfather, who had the necessary wealth to support the nobility of his line is a saving grace for those who have lost their flocks, but it is a small one. The children of a leading family whose wealth has vanished suffer the same fate as the children of a family whose father, although from a family of the 'first lineage', has married beneath himself, that is they literally 'lose' their name, the surname of the father. Lineage refers to prestige in the past, while the essence of competition in this community is concerned with influence in the present. Therefore, a 'name', without the means to support it, is not recognized.

This, in practice, is the mechanism that restricts the number of families that can successfully claim to be of 'first lineage'. Not all the collateral relatives of a leading family are recognized as equivalent in prestige, for without numbers and wealth they cannot aspire to this. And it is inherently unlikely that they will all possess these advantages. There are two important limiting factors. With the rule of equal inheritance between brothers, the size of the group of brothers which is necessary to build and protect wealth and prestige, itself is the cause, in the next generation, of the fragmentation of this wealth. The second factor is disease. Twenty years ago sheep-pox, and today liver-fluke, are diseases capable of decimating a flock within a short time. However honourable a man, the loss of his flocks must diminish his own prestige to some degree, and that of his children more seriously.

(D) MARRIAGES

Τὸ συμπεθεριό is the affinal relationship between two previously unrelated families. It is in the early days of summer that the families of men who wish to take wives in the following year begin to consider the question of finding suitable affines and, during these weeks, the gossip of the community is much concerned with news and speculation about matchmaking.

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The songs are not, in fact, particularly daring or insulting in themselves: therein, perhaps, lies their effect. Of Nasios Karapheris the woman chaser it is sung, 'Up at Kouphos where they used to grow corn, Nasios is making a place to lie down. Hidden away in the long grasses, he makes secret eyes. Mitsos draws out his knife to kill Nasios Karapheris.'

A song may be composed about a man who, although he has not erred morally, has been made to look ridiculous. For this, too, is failure. Theodoros Kallis is a physically strong man with a bullying character. He is wealthy and many people fear his violent nature. They were not sorry, therefore, when he suffered the following misfortune.

'On the twenty-first of January went Theodoros, the poor devil, to see his little mother-in-law. But when he arose in the morning, "Oh dear oh dear, they have cut the tail of my horse, dear mother-in-law!" Then cursed the mother-in-law, "May two unmarried boys never live to set up their wedding standards!" '

A man's failure in any respect may also be prolonged in the community's memory by giving him a nickname (παρατσούκλι). Flattering nicknames are sometimes given to members of the leading families. Costas Katsanos in his younger days was known as 'the flyer' (φεύγας) because of his great speed of movement up or down hill. But more often nicknames ridicule a man. Thus a man who was caught in the act of stealing maize from a villager's garden, was named καλαμπόκιος, an adjective fabricated from the Greek word for this grain. The name was not a comment on the morality of theft but the indignity of discovery and failure.

I have said enough to indicate how public opinion functioning through gossip and ridicule acts to sanction the community's prestige values. Gossip and its outcome, ridicule, are in a certain manner the external sanctions which support the internal sanctions of individual action, self-regard and the sense of shame. The subtlety of gossip and ridicule as sanctions is that, since they do not generally operate in his presence, they offer a man no excuse for violent response. He may respond to the insult of an individual, but not to the laughter of the community which he senses, but seldom hears.

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593 562 594 that the Sarakatsani voluntarily tell corroborates these assertions: the mayor of a village one day asked one of the men under him the name of his wife. But the latter did not reply. He had completely forgotten it.

[551] [553] The personality of the wife is so absorbed by that of her husband that she even loses her first name; she is henceforth given the first name of her husband put in the feminine gender.

583 593 562 594 [586] Now the abduction confirms the rule of that the woman is controlled by the society. Until then at the disposal of her father, she places herself henceforth at the disposal of her husband. That is furthermore why, when we speak of divorce, we are putting ourselves in an opposite perspective, which is inconceivable in the world of Sarakatsani values.

583 585 562 [182] [533] It thus seems to us altogether certain that the Sarakatsani marriage ritual is the expression of a coherent and solid set of well-rounded attitudes. In this connection, and even at the risk of repeating what is known, we should like to quote another Sarakatsani song sung by the women friends of the wife at the time when they dress the latter.

[533] [539] Simulating throughout a dialogue between the wife and the audience, it says:

--Oh! Thou lavishly dressed
Whoever has covered you with finery
And who has made you beautiful as the turtle dove?

/139/ --It is my father, my mother, my sisters, my brothers (etc.)
Who have covered me with finery
And have made me beautiful as the turtle dove..,(etc.).

This song, which shows proof of the consent of the parents to the marriage, makes it public, as it were, and leaves no doubt about the true nature of the abduction.

[593] [594] Nevertheless, the principle of the wife's submission to her husband expresses only one part of the relations between the spouses.